

Sir Richard Cocks,

HIS

K

Farewel SERMON;

SHEWING,

The CHRISTIAN RELIGION

WAS NOT

Introduced by POWER and FORCE,

NOR

Established by VIOLENCE.

Acts xxiv. 13. *Neither can they prove the Things, whereof they now accuse me.*

Ver. 14. *But this I confess unto thee, That after the Way which they call Heresy, so worship I the God of my Fathers, believing all Things which are written in the Law and the Prophets.*

Ver. 15. *And have Hope towards God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a Resurrection of the Dead, both of the Just and Unjust:*

Ver. 16. *And herein do I exercise my self, to have always a Conscience void of Offence towards God and towards Man.*

L O N D O N,

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CHRISTIAN READER,

Have, in my former Papers shewed thee the Excellency, Verity, and Perfection of our Holy Religion, which receives no Advantage from the Arts and Pretences of those that tell us of the Power that is delegated to them from Heaven. One eminent Divine, lately quoted by an Author as eminent as himself, tells us, Heaven waits and expects the Priest's Sentence on Earth; the Lord follows the Servant; and what the Servant rightly binds on Earth, the Lord confirms in Heaven. These high Flights are inculcated and impressed upon the tender Minds of the Youth they educate: From hence come Bigots, and not a few Atheists; observing the Cheats that have been instilled into them in their Youth, when they have overcome the Absurdities of their Education, they vainly conclude all Religion to be Cheat and Priest-Craft. But the more considerate know our Religion consists not in empty Shews, or Mysteries to be performed by its Priests; it is a Religion that is pure, easily understood, worthy of God the Institutor of it; the End and Design of it is to make Men easy and

useful to one another in this World, and eternally happy in the next.

All our Fars, Dissensions, and Ill-Will to each other, are the Tares the Enemy hath sown in the large Fields of Envy, Pride, Ambition, and Covetousness; very proper Soil to give Growth and Nourishment to such dangerous and fruitful Weeds. It is the Interest as well as the Duty of the Magistrate to have the People, committed to his Charge, to be well instructed in the Christian Religion: For good Christians make the best Subjects.

The Sum of the Christian Religion is, To believe what is contained in the Apostles Creed, to love God above all Things, and our Neighbour as our selves; to be initiated in Christ's Church by Baptism, and to be worthy Partakers of the Lord's Supper; to be obedient to our Governors in all lawful Commands, and be respectful to Superiors; and especially to be observant of those whom Authority has separated and appointed to officiate and instruct us in Holy Things. And they ought to be very circumspect in their Lives, Examples of Virtue and Piety; and that will make their great Office venerable, and more esteemed, than the vain empty Pretences of a Succession from the Apostles.

We want a second Reformation. Nothing is perfect, as the first Reformers observed, at first. This will be evident, if we reflect upon the Corruption, Filthy, and Nastiness, that the Priests had mingled with, defiled, and defaced, our holy Religion; for at that Time it was called indeed Christian, but upon Examination it will appear more like the old Pagan. The cunning Priests did all that in them lay to oppose the Reformation; the Politicks and private Views of some who promoted the Reformation, prevailed further with them than a true Zeal for Religion; and the World was in a kind of Lethargy, the Necessity and Greatness of the Work almost confounding them. And in Two Centuries some Errors may have crept in, which may want a second Reformation.

formation. The ablest and best of our first Reformers, told us, That the Scripture did not mention, or explain, what a Sacrament was; and that where the Word Sacrament was ever used in the Latin Text, it was in the Greek *μυστήριον*, *mysterium*. Now those that call themselves Priests tell us, not only that Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are necessary to our Salvation (which is Truth) but also that they are Sacraments, viz. Mysteries of such a Nature, that they cannot be beneficially administered by any Hand, but that which can derive a Mission, in a direct Line, from the Apostles. By which Assertion they not only in an uncharitable and unchristian Manner exclude all the Protestant Dissenters of this Nation, but also all other Protestant Foreigners, from all Hopes and Means of Salvation. This is, surely, too harsh to be true, or warranted by the Word of God. Their Definition of a Sacrament to support their Purposes is abstruse and unintelligible; but by these Charms and Arts they delude the World. Though, perhaps, many of them may be excusable, because they know no better, being educated themselves as they educate the Youth under their Care. These wrong Notions and imperfect Ideas of these Things of the greatest Consequence being early imprinted on them, there are very few ever after capable of taking true Impressions. By these Means they lay dangerous and strong Foundations of Animosities amongst Protestants, who should live in Love, in Peace, Unity, and Charity, as Brethren and Christians; and unite against the Papist, the common Enemy to them and the Christian Religion. The Receiving the Sacrament kneeling, since the Papiſts have made a God of it, and adore the Bread, may be altered: And the rather because it was not so used at the Institution, nor in the Primitive Times, till after Errors and Heresies invaded the Church. The pretended Priests giving the Bread and Wine with their own Hand to every Communicant, and repeating the same Words, is tiresome and uneasy, and not primitive. This was an Invention to
make

make the People believe the peculiar Receiving the Bread and Wine from their Hands made it only beneficial. Tho' it is past all Contradiction, That the sincere Mind, and holy Disposition of the Receiver, not the Words or Hand of the Giver, only makes it the more or the less beneficial. We disown Transubstantiation, and yet we receive the Sacrament in an adoring Posture; we call the Pope Anti-christ, and the Papists Idolaters; and yet from them do we derive our spiritual Pedigree, to support our Divine Mission. On a pretended Conversion, we admit their Priests to officiate in our Churches; when, at the same Time, we should believe our Religion defiled, our Churches profaned, should any of the best Protestant Divines, if a Dissenter at home, or ordained by the Reformed Protestants abroad, enter our Churches, and officiate without Re-Ordination. When we baptize, we sign the Baptized with the Sign of the Popish Deity, The Cross: Surely the Sign of the Spear, or the Nails, would be as much to the Purpose; and this had better be altered. We see the holy Salutations, the Deaconesses, &c. were omitted, though very primitive, for the Inconveniencies that attended them, and, it may be, they had not more Reasons to omit those, than we have these. I may say of these Things, as the Bishop of Bangor does of the Practices of some towards the Revolution, It betrays some Consciousness that all is not easy; it encourages the Papist, it discourages the honest Protestant, and gives Occasion to the Bigot to say, He had rather be a Papist than a Presbyterian. It is true, we do make some little Excuses for these Things; but it has been on other Occasions observed, That when a Man, accused of any Crime, makes but an indifferent Excuse, confesses himself guilty. If a Man seeth thee that hast Knowledge, sit at Meat in an Idol's Temple, shall not the Conscience of him that is weak be emboldened to eat those Things that are offered to Idols; and thro' thy Knowledge thy weak Brother perish, for whom Christ died? Some of our great Preferments occasion Envy, and make the Possessors envied, or censured for Covetousness,

ness, or Extravagancy. Some are so mean, they make the Possessors indigent and contemptible. I will not pretend to say any Thing is too much for holy Men, that have an Heart and Knowledge to use it as becomes Men in such great Stations; but I am assured that it is too little that will not supply Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life for a good Manager, and a prudent Family. The Non-Residence of Bishops, Clergymens Pluralities, and holding by Commendam, and the infamous Practices of the Chancery Courts, make our Religion have a Look like Popery, viz. That the End of the Christian Religion was rather to make the Priest rich and great, than the People true Christians and religious.

These Things certainly require a second and more strict Reformation.

In Queen Anne's Reign, when I saw that unhappy Princess deluded by ambitious Clergymen, and Atheists, their inseparable Companions, endeavouring to ruin herself, and the Protestant Interest, and to demolish those Trophies and Glories, which had once made her the most celebrated Princess of the Universe; and when the unchristian Bill, called An Act to prevent Schism, was before the House of Commons, I wrote this following Discourse, which I now publish at the Request of Friends of all Parties; and the rather, that the World may judge of it, because it came then, without my Knowledge, into the Hands of some High-Church-Men, who reviled it worse than they would have a lewd immoral Discourse. The Introduction is, in a Manner, foreign to it; but I take the Liberty to insert some Things in it, which I thought needful to have been placed in my former Papers, never intending, unless mightily provoked, to appear more in Print on these Subjects; though, if it please God to continue to me that Share of Health I now enjoy, I intend not to turn indolent, and negligent; but I will endeavour to divert some, and inform others, both with History and Laws that may be useful to the Publick.

I aim

I aim at nothing but the Peace and Prosperity of my Country; and if I shall do any Thing towards that great and desirable End, I shall esteem my self rich, great, and happy: but if I fail of being Master of those great Wishes, I shall yet have some Comfort and Pleasure in the Thoughts of the Attempts I have made to accomplish those glorious Purposes; and shall hope, That though my Labours are now unsuccessful, they may one Time or another meet with a better Fate. Farewell.

P. S. I shall esteem no impudent groundless Reflections of angry malicious Men, who daily blaspheme God and the King, whose Follies and evil Consciences make them ashamed to own who they are, to be any Provocation: I pray God to convert and forgive them; as to what concerns me, I heartily do. I shall endeavour to live so, and to behave my self so in the Station God has placed me, that if Men speak Truth of me, they shall speak very little ill of me: And if they tell Lies of me, I shall hope that my Life and Conversation will contradict and expose them. What have I done to exasperate them, more than they do, or ought to do every Sunday, viz. Tell Men of their Faults, and convince them of their Errors, in Order to mend them? But they tell me, That is their Business, and this is not mine: Surely we are Travellers hastening to our Journey's End; and if I should see my Fellow-Traveller lose himself, go out of his Way, and walk upon dangerous Precipices, or Quicksands, should he be angry at my Directions, should not I be to blame, if I should not give him Cautions, and put him into the right Road? But they say, I call them Names: I mention no particular Man; and when I reflect upon scandalous Practices, and a Man's Conscience accuses him, that he is the Man I mean; his Conscience, not I, calls him the bad Names. I believe any honest Man will say, that those that solemnly take Oaths, with no Intention to observe them (and many such there are, as appears by their unseemly Behaviour at their taking them, and their

their acting contrary to them afterward) are the vilest Wretches, and the worst part of the Creation: They blaspheme God in the highest Manner, they ridicule all Religion; and, as far as in them lies, dissolve and annihilate all Obligations that are, or can be made between Man and Man. Such Practices may probably occasion Blood-shed and Confusion in the World; for in some Cases, if you can find no tie to oblige Men, you will be forced to destroy them out of Self-preservation, because you can invent no other Way to secure your selves. And every thinking Man will own, that if ever they should fill the Throne with a Popish Prince, both they, as well as we are undone: These Men ought surely to be made sensible of their Errors: And since our All is at Stake, a Man may fairly expostulate with them. They say, they are angry at my reducing them from being Ambassadors, to be no more but idle, simple Creatures: But why am I to be blamed? I had these Notions from Dr. Bently, who in his Charge says, the Notion of the Mission was a foolish Trifle; and I never heard him questioned for it, and upon Examination I found it to be true. If any Man would rob me, may not I defend my self? If any Man would invade, and take away my Estate by false Evidence, may not I expose their lewd Practices, without breach of Charity? If these Men pretend to save or damn me at their Pleasure, I need not ask my Doom; and they invade my Right in the most valuable Thing, and I must expostulate with them, and detect the Cheat. I will conclude with an Observation of an honest Hermit to the Monks, that came to him to know, if they should attend the bloody Austin, who came from the Pope on pretence to settle this Country in a better Knowledge of Religion, and on that Account had summoned them to attend him; they further desired to be informed of him, how they should know, if he was from God; the Hermite bid them attend him, and that if he rose up to them, and received them humbly, they should conclude him to be a good Man, and observe him; if not, slight him: For,

says he, a Man that is truly Religious will be humble, and neglect no part of the Duty of a Christian. I will leave the Reader to make the Application.

Observe how far unintelligible hard Words captivate Mens Understandings. I find the Writings of a late famed Author, whose Labours were too valuable to be confined in the narrow Compass of one Kingdom, are handed about here, and much valued and esteemed: He had rather have Men Orthodox than Sincere; the latter he explodes, the other he makes the very Corner-Stone of our Religion; and to put it in plain English, it will be this: It is better for Religion that Men be Knaves (for what are they better, that act not according to their best and truest Judgment?) than to be honest, that is sincere, and not comply with the Dictates of the Orthodox, which are the Priests of that Side, that have the Power in their Hands. Surely this, when put into English, don't sound right, and can hardly be the Christian Religion.

The Pretensions of the Schism Bill were to prevent Hypocrisy; the Design of it, as they afterwards owned, was to garble Corporations. Thus you see some Men make Religion no more than a stalking Horse to serve their own Purposes; and here it was evident, that Hypocrites brought in a Bill to prevent Hypocrisy: It is very conspicuous, that when Sincerity destroys the stately Fabrick the Orthodox have in their own Imaginations erected, Sincerity is a Crime, though on some occasions they seem very angry at Hypocrisy: I wish they would in plain English tell us, what they would have; but whither am I going?

Farewell.

Sir.



Sir R-----d C---ks

HIS

Farewel SERMON, &c.

In LUKE ix. 55, 56.

You may find these Words,

But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are of: For the Son of Man is not come to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them.

IN the foregoing Verses you may read, that our blessed Saviour sent to a Village in *Samaria*, to prepare a convenient Entertainment for him and his Disciples, but they would not receive him; and his Disciples *James* and *John*, when they saw it, said, *Lord, wilt thou that we command*

down Fire from Heaven to consume them, even as Elias did? You may observe farther, that Peter, James and John had seen Moses and Elias in Glory, talking with Jesus in the Mountain: These very Disciples therefore, that had seen Moses and Elias, the greatest Prophets, leave the Mansions of the Blessed to attend on Jesus, and had seen his Works, heard his Doctrine, and knew very well that Jesus was God, the Son of God: These could not imagine any Torture bad enough, any Punishment too severe, or any Execution too sudden or exemplary for those Miscreants, that so ungratefully refused, and unmannerly rejected so great a Favour, the greatest Honour in the World, viz. to entertain the Lord of Lords, the Maker of all Men and Things, who had also invited himself to be their Guest; which aggravates the Circumstances of their scandalous Refusal. It may be, their being so lately with Elias, made this sort of Punishment so easily enter into their Thoughts; and they could not but readily conclude, that if such Punishment was due, and inflicted on those that affronted the Servant, how much more ought they to be chastized, that had so contumeliously abused and rejected the Lord and Master? They therefore, James and John, that had been with him in the Mountain, and had just before seen his Glory, when they saw the immediate Affront, said to him, *Wilt thou that we command down Fire from Heaven to consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what Spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them.* There is not in the Life of the blessed Jesus any thing that shews more Earnestness or Displeasure, viz. *He turned and rebuked them:* We may therefore well conclude, that there was no greater occasion offered him. You may observe in verse 44. of the same Chapter; Jesus told them that he should be delivered into the Hands of Men; and

and in the 46th verse, there arose a Dispute amongst them, which should be the greatest: In the 48th verse, they forbid one that cast out Devils in Christ's Name, because he did not follow them: This argued abundance of Pride, and demonstrated the great Ambition that reigned in the Disciples. And our Saviour, who knew all Things, knew that the *Samaritans* would not receive him: Therefore it is not unlikely, that he sent on purpose to teach them by his Example, Patience and Humility; and to let them know and learn his Doctrines, and what they should teach, and how they should instruct Mankind, after he was delivered into the Hands of Men. But I cannot but imagine, that the Men of our Days are rather the Disciples of the Disciples before they were regenerated, and inspired, than the Disciples of the blessed Jesus, the Author and Institutor of our Faith; and I question not, but one might name those amongst us, that would almost justify *James* and *John*; and would say, What Reason was there for our Saviour's Resentment? Did the Disciples do any more than shew a becoming Zeal for the Honour of that Lord and Master they served and knew? If Examples are not to be made of those that dishonour Christ, that speak Evil of his Religion, that deny his Divinity, and that will not so much as receive him into their Village; if these Practices are endured, Religion it self will fail and decay, and Impiety will get the Ascendant, and domineer. I may say, that from these fleshly Arguments, from these Considerations of the Disciples before they had learned Christ, have come into the World all those Abominations, uncharitable Opinions, and worse Practices; from hence have proceeded the *Popish* Inquisitions and Massacres, their Plots and Assassinations: From hence amongst us of the Reformed Religion have proceeded burning of Hereticks,

Perse-

Persecutions, Creeds, Tests, and Occasional Conformity Bills, Penalties, and Punishments. From hence have proceeded those false Arguings; If a Man shall blaspheme the King, and endeavour to dethrone him, or lessen his Authority, or speak slightly of his Title, what Severities and Tortures shall he suffer! But to revile against God, to deny the Divinity of our Saviour, or disown his Religion, they are small Matters, and of no Consideration with you: And doth not this plainly shew that you have more Regard to the Honour of Men, more Reverence for earthly Potentates, than you have for God and his Christ? To this I reply, *You know not what Spirit you are of*: Man's Heart is full of Pride, he is exalted with the Thoughts of Power, is subject to Fears; his Head is giddy with Vanities and high Conceits; he resents Injuries and Affronts; is liable to Injuries and Violence; he dreads nothing more than the Falling from his high Station and Dignity. Nothing therefore can expiate or atone for Crimes of that Nature; the Punishment, nay, it may be, the Life of the Offender cannot satisfy, but his innocent Posterity must also feel the Effects of his Father's Transgression: And foolish Man hath said in his Heart, that God is such an one as himself: Thou Fool, Can Man dethrone God, can he plot against God's Empire?

There is no Delinquent against Heaven, but is, at the same Time, his own Accuser, Judge, and Executioner: And when Men punish for Heaven's Sake, their Zeal and Transport has some private Views or Interest that makes it flame. Christ tells us, That the Design of his Coming was to save, not to destroy Men. There is nothing more convinceth me of the Truth and Excellency of the Christian Religion, there is nothing more demonstrates its Verity, than that it was not introduced by
Power

Power and Force, nor established by Violence, the worst Enemies to Reason, and therefore no good Friends to Religion.

Now to illustrate what I have said, I beg you to examine and consider, and then tell me, Can the most sanguine Zealot affirm, that the Converts made by the *French* Dragoons, or the Terror of the Wheel, will bring Honour to God, or Salvation to their poor Souls? Can Hypocrisy be acceptable to God? Or can a servile Lip-Worship bring Salvation to the Soul of Man? And can any of our Zealots say, that if it was in their Power, they would not call for Fire from Heaven to consume the Men they are, in their own Judgments, so justly displeased with, for their different Sentiments in Religious Matters? And may not I then, in our Saviour's Words, say to them, *Ye know not what Spirit ye are of?*

It is certain, that Man ought to serve God in a Manner worthy of him, not according to the fond Conceptions, and the Imaginations of his own poor Understanding; especially when God hath laid down Rules for him, and prescribed him positive Directions. God knoweth Man, and what is in Man: But Man knoweth God no further, than it hath pleased God to reveal himself to Man. It is true, these Men may say, and we may believe them, that if they had been consulted in the first Institution of the Christian Religion, they would have made these the first Principles of it; the first Law should have been to destroy and execute all those audacious Opponents, who durst have contemned or denied that gracious Son of God, who died, and offered himself up an Oblation upon the Cross for the Sins of the World. But our Saviour tells us, that he came to save Men's Lives, and not

to destroy them: And doth not these Men's Pride make them believe that they are wiser than God? There is nothing in the Scripture more explain'd to us, than the Love of God to Men: There is nothing more often commanded to us, than to love one another: There is nothing pronounced in the New Testament more terrible, than to die in our Sins; for in the Grave there is no Repentance, and therefore no Hopes of Pardon. And can that Man be thought to be a Christian, who will deliberately break the chief Law of the Gospel, which is the Law of Love and Amity; and instead of that, will murder his Brother who has no Way offended him, and that in cold Blood? For Murder it is, and the worst Sort of Murder, aggravated with the most provoking Circumstances, viz. Killing a Man by Colour of Law, contrary to Law: And it is without doubt contrary to Christ's Law, to punish those with Death, whom we call Hereticks.

But this has been too often practised since the Reformation, to the great Scandal of the Protestant Profession. This is not only Murder, but the most barbarous and unheard of Cruelty, as well as the highest Breach of Christ's Law; for it not only kills the Body, but also forces the poor mistaken Wretch to die in his Sins; and, as far as we are able, damns his Soul; whereas had he lived longer he might have repented, and become Orthodox. Surely such Opinion, and such Practices, are the worst of Heresies.

Robert Grosted, a learned and good Bishop of Lincoln, thus defines Heresy; *Hæresis est sententia humano sensu electa, Scripturis sacris contraria, palam detecta, pertinaciter defensa.* By which Definition we see the greater Heretick burns the lesser.

And

And I must observe another great Absurdity in these Men's Arguings, viz. In comparing God's excellent, divine, omnipotent Perfections, and his Love to Mankind, to the Malice, Fears, Heats and Passions of Men. Man, say they, takes him to be his Friend, that will revenge himself on those who traduce him behind his Back, and set light by him. And therefore they conclude, That God, who is both Omnipresent and Omnipotent, is pleased to have those who offend and slight his Divinity punished by Men.

God's Hand is not shorned; he can, without Man's weak Assistance, reach and chastise the proudest and greatest Offenders, both in this and the next World. The surest Way of honouring God is to do his Will; and his Will can be known by no better Way than his Revelation; and particularly, for what Purpose he came into the World, that must of Necessity be a very essential Part of his Will; and he tells us very plainly, that the End of his Coming was to save, not to destroy Men's Lives.

When you ask any of our sanguine Zealots, if they would persecute Men, to force them to believe the Gospel, they faintly say; No; but will own that they would be glad that they had no Toleration. The Conclusion is pretty plain, they would not consent that they should serve God according to the best of their Knowledge and Understanding; and yet they would not have this termed Force or Violence. But, I hope, that they never will have Occasion to complain of such ill Usage, of such Persecution, which I think to be the greatest Evil that can be inflicted. As for my Part, I had rather be deprived of my Estate, of my Liberty,

than of that Liberty of Serving my God in the Manner I think most worthy of him, in that Way I believe to be most acceptable to him. It is a Maxim worthy of the Infrator of our Religion, to do to others, as we would be done unto. To this they answer, Would the Judge be willing that the Malefactor should condemn him to be hanged? Why, then the Judge should not condemn the Malefactor. Why truly, this is the very Case; this is the Misfortune: Men in Power are the Judges, and all that will not believe as they would have them, are Malefactors. But surely, no such just Conclusion can be drawn, Christians ought to love one the other, and to convince one another by Reason and Scripture, not by Force, but to do to others as they would be done unto; and therefore, say they, a Judge ought not to condemn a Malefactor.

It is the Judge's Office, it is his Duty to God and Man to condemn Malefactors; but it is not the Office of a Christian Magistrate, it is against Christ's Laws to punish honest peaceable Men for no other Crime, than because they cannot fathom so deep, nor exactly conceive and believe, as the Magistrate would have them.

Whoever believes a God, must believe that that God cannot lie: And therefore he must believe those Things, that he is convinced God has revealed; and must believe it to be his Duty, to observe every Thing that God has commanded; and only these are Objects of Faith; and whatever contradicts such well grounded Opinions, is not capable of being instilled into Mankind, but by superior Arguments and Reason, which make other Impressions, which confute and really alter his former Thoughts and Opinions. And to punish a Man, because he cannot believe as you would

would have him, is inhuman, barbarous and most tyrannical.

It is unchristian to make a Man tell you a Lie, and most irreligious to make him lie to God; which is certainly done, when by Terrors you oblige him to express that to God with his Lips, which he in his Heart believes to be false; this must be offensive to the God of Truth: And we do not find any Example made with greater Severity, than that on *Ananias* and *Sapphira* for lying to God; but what is it more or less than lying to God, when I profess that with my Tongue to him, which my Judgment cannot comply with, and my Heart abhorreth?

May the great wise God in his Mercy pardon those poor spirited Wretches, who have not Courage enough to resist the Terrors of those Spiritual Tyrants: And may the Curses and Punishments, rather light upon the Heads of those that force them to Sin against their Knowledge; that would (according to the modern Way of expressing) rather oblige them to be Orthodox, than Sincere.

It is the Glory of a Man, to speak and to own what he believes to be true; that is to be sincere. It is in some Sense, happy to be Orthodox; that is, to be really of the same Opinion his Governors are of: I believe, there have not been many in the World of that obstinate Temper, as really to believe a Thing; and at the same Time not to own they did believe, till that Confession was extorted from them: And I dare affirm, that few have been really convinced by those Arguments.

Suppose an armed Body of *Christians* should surprize a Party of *Barbarians*, and when they had master'd them, should tell them, that there was Water to baptize them, or Halters to hang them, if they refused: I presume no one would approve of this short Way of making Converts, or that those so converted were good *Christians*. Now as harsh as this sounds, we may observe worse Practices every Day. As for those *Barbarians*, they never heard of those Things before; the Way of converting may seem hard to them, the Things that are offered to them may be true or false, for all that they know to the contrary. But it is more severe abundantly to force *Christians* to alter their Opinions, to abjure their Opinions, and to make Confessions contrary to their Judgments: For they were before informed of these Things, and are forced to own that to be true, which they are convinced, upon mature Thought and Consideration, is false; and are forced to forsake what they really believed to be true. And when the Governors change their Opinion, the same Argument will oblige them to change their Opinions, if they intend to be Orthodox. For call it what you will, persecuting Men for Religion is (as I said before) only punishing them for not believing as the Church believes, which is the governing Power in plain *English*.

Now let us consider the Way, the Rule that Men generally take to examine the Sentiments of others by.

Men are generally so well conceited of their own Abilities, that they are very apt to believe, that every Thing they do or think, is best and uncontrollable: And that all those that differ from them are

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certainly in the wrong, and therefore ought to be punished.

From hence observe the ill Consequences that must follow, when Men deviate from Christ's Laws, and are led by their own Passions and Pleasures, which they cover under the Name of Zeal for the Church, then those that are uppermost will persecute their dissenting Subjects: And when their odious Government makes them lose their Sovereignty, the Ill-used, when they have the Authority, will retaliate and revenge the Wrongs they had endured. So that there will be a perpetual State of War established, as it were by a Law of their own making amongst Christians, the chief Law and Principles of whose Religion, is to love as Brethren; and in order to prevent those Wranglings, evil Surmises and Contentions, we are directly commanded by God not so much as to censure or judge one the other; but to pull out the Beams out of our own Eyes, before we pry into, and observe the Moths in the Eyes of our Brother.

I cannot find by the Gospel Rules, that we ought by any indirect Means, by Rewards, Fears or Punishments, to byass the *Heathens* that know not God, or to convert the *Jews* that deny Christ. Punishments, depriving Men of Places, or giving them Rewards or Places, are no where proposed to us as good Methods to convert Men to turn Christians, or to alter their Opinions.

From this and other Considerations agreeing with the Scripture Rules, I lay down this as a Maxim of our Religion, That Christianity ought not to be propagated by Force or Rewards, but only by Reason and Arguments deduced from Scripture: And that we ought not to propagate our Religion

gion by Ways, Arts, or Methods, nor warranted by Scripture, or the Example of the Blessed Instructor of our Faith, or his holy Apostles, after they were holy by Inspiration, and fully instructed

I am not a Christian because I was born and bred in the Faith, but because I am convinced of the Reasonableness and Truth of it: And it is not the least Argument to recommend it to me before all other Religions, that it was not introduced by the Powers of this World, or supported by Authority, by the Dreads, Terrors, or Favours of the Magistrate. If our Saviour, who was God All-Wise and Powerful, had been pleased to have propagated and established his Religion by those Means, he could have been born under a Canopy of State, have been educated in the most noble Palaces, and have sent Kings and Princes for his Apostles, to have maintained his Doctrines, and supported his Religion. If this Religion was true then, it is the same now; and if Rewards and Mulcts were not allowed of, nor any Way countenanced or encouraged then, as fitting Arguments to make Converts, they ought not to be made Use of now.

Vain Man! Is the Wisdom of the Almighty less, or is his Hand shortened, or art thou wiser than God, or has he more need now of thy feeble Hand to support his Deity? Reflect into and examine thy self; and thou wilt find thy Desire to convince thy Neighbour by Arms, Fraud, or Force, to proceed not from God, nor a true Christian Zeal, but from thy own Pride, Malice, and Envy; from the Opinion thou hast of thy own Excellency, Wisdom, and Judgment; and thy Inclination to make Converts at an easier Rate, than at the Trouble of living well, preaching sound Doctrine, and giving a good Example. What assures thee that thou art

in the right, and thy Neighbour in the wrong, but the Opinion thou hast of thy own Abilities, and of his Weakness? In which Points it is very likely that he is not way behind-hand with thee; and that, had he Power, he would use thee as thou dost him.

It is so much the Interest of every one to take Care of his own Soul, and eternal Welfare, that in Charity I can't think any Men will trifle about Things of that high Nature, I mean those that will think about it: And for all Men's Confidence, and high Thoughts of themselves, I will venture to pronounce them to be in the wrong, when by Fears or *Premiums* they endeavour to make others as good Christians, and as Orthodox as themselves.

All Nations believe a God; all Countries have Laws against Adultery, Theft, Murder, Drunkenness, and Things of such detestable Nature: And such Persons who like the Papists hold Principles ruinous to Mankind, as well as pernicious to the Peace of the Country they live in, may and ought to be handled as Malefactors. But, I say, as we are Christians, it is not commanded us, it is not permitted us, it is not lawful for us, to make Converts by Terrors and Dread: It is not recommended to us in the New Testament, nor any where in Scripture allowed Christians, to put even the Blasphemer to Death.

All the Power that was ever given or made Use of by the Primitive Christians, according to the Rules and Examples of the Apostles, was to turn them out of the Church: And if Men's Zeal should carry them to greater Heights, it would be as convenient; and as absolutely necessary for the Christian World, to hold a General Synod, or Council,

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to declare what was Blasphemy, and what was Heresy, and who should be the Judges, as it was for us in *Edward III's* Reign, to declare what was Treason; otherwise one may easily foresee the Consequences. Those that were uppermost would declare all those they feared might at any Time rival their Power, Hereticks and Blasphemers; and they, if ever their Turn came to be uppermost, would retaliate. By which Means our most excellent Religion, which came from God, would be made a diabolical Stratagem to make Men perpetually destroy one another, out of Pretence of Regard to, and in Honour of that God that came to save, and not to destroy Mankind.

In the eighth Chapter of *St. Mark*, our Saviour tells his Disciples, that this Spirit doth proceed from the Leaven of *Herod*; and from the Leaven of the Pharisees: And in *Ver. 34* of that Chapter, our Saviour prescribes a Remedy against that Leaven; *Whoever will come after me, let him deny himself, &c.* Now do but consider the vast Difference that is between Papist and Protestant, as to their Principles; and yet there are Protestants that make them their Bosom Friends, that care for them; whereas it has been said, and can hardly be unsaid, The Papists are Idolaters. On the contrary, consider the small Difference that is between us, and some dissenting Protestants; and yet they are our mortal Enemies, and as such we would serve them, were our Power as extensive as our Inclinations are good towards them. What can this proceed from? Surely from the Seeds of some of the old Leaven. We fancy that the Idolater will no more contend with us for Superiority; and that they like us better than they do the other Protestants, and that therefore, if there should be Occasion for Help, that they would assist us to maintain our Superiority

over the other Protestants ; for they are rich, they have good Friends, they multiply, and we look upon them with a jealous Eye.

It is true, an evil Eye multiplies all the Prosperity of those it bears Ill-Will to : They have been in the Saddle, and what has been may be so again ; therefore if they are not humbled, they will ruin the Church, and pretend to an equal Power with us, if not an Authority over us. Let us suppose it to be possible for us to do as the Disciples did to the Blessed Jesus : Let us suppose him to be upon Earth, and that it were possible for us immediately to make our Applications to him, and that we should say, Lord, we have found honest, well-meaning, good Men, preaching in thy Name, they have persuaded Men to obey thy Laws, to forsake their wicked Ways, and to do thy Will ; but because they would not own us to be their Superiors, and because they would not truckle under and follow us, we forbid them, as thy Disciples formerly did those that cast out Devils in thy Name. Some of them we have martyred, others we have imprisoned, and others we have persecuted. Can we imagine that our Saviour would commend us for those unchristian Practices ? Or that he would say to us, If you would read and digest the Scriptures, you must know that this was not my Will ; the Design of my Coming was Love to Mankind : I came to save, not to destroy Men : These Imperfections of my Disciples were delivered down to you by my Prophets and Evangelists, to teach you to avoid the Errors and Mistakes my Disciples ran into before they were regenerated by my Spirit. Would not our Lord tell us, *Rebuke them not, persecute them not, forbid them not* ? You see Miracles are ceased, the Men of this untoward Generation cannot cast out Devils,

or heal the Sick : All they can do is to be holy, and to persuade others by their good Lives and Conversation, and righteous Preaching to become new Creatures : And they that do sincerely so, cannot likely speak Evil of me : *Ye know not what Spirit ye are of.*

But I know these Zealots will not yet be satisfied, but will be at their old Questions again, and will say, May every one that will, preach and teach Heresies and Blasphemies ? I therefore must in Answer repeat what I said before ; I cannot tell what you will call Heresy or Blasphemy ; but I see no Liberty in the Scripture given for one Christian to judge another, much less to punish another for differing in Opinions only. Give me Leave, from one Example, to shew you the Consequence of such Doctrines, if allow'd of ; I mean, the Abettors of the Doctrines of Free-Will and Predestination, in King *James* the First's Time. Both Sides were so confident of their Assertions, so zealous to maintain their Opinions ; they were each so resolute, and assured that they were in the right, that no one can question but that if their Powers had been equal to their Wills, they would have ruined and extirpated each other : And that very Religion that commands and teaches Men to love and to bear with one another, would, no doubt of it, by Wrestling of Scripture, have supplied them with Arguments and Materials to have condemned, and to have burned each other for Hereticks. From what I have now said, relating to a Controversy of no Use or Advantage to the Christian World, I draw this Conclusion, that, Those that know and have learned Christ, and will serve him in a Manner worthy of him, must serve him in the Way he has commanded and prescribed ; they must not be high-minded,

mindèd, revengèful, or so conceited, as to believe themselves to be infallible, and to conclude that all that differ from them, though in the most minute Matters, must be Reprobates, stigmatized, silenced, censured, and ill-used for their Opinions : They must not call for Fire from Heaven, nor kindle one on Earth, to consume them : No, though they know they affront God, and will not admit him into their Hearts ; no, though they will not so much as permit him to come into their Village. Men are but Men ; and if one Side persecutes, the other will hate ; and when Opportunity serves be very apt to revenge. We daily see Men turn from Papist to Protestant, and from Protestant to Papist ; and if Persecution was allowed of, what Havock must it make in the World ? The Papist, when a Papist, persecutes the Protestants ; the same Man when a Protestant persecutes the Papists.

Thus we see, If we intend to preserve Peace in Christ's Church, there is a Necessity of parting with Force and Violence in religious Matters, from the Reason, from the Conveniency thereof, though we had no Law from Heaven to oblige us to it. Were it permitted us to destroy Men for their Opinions, these further Inconveniencies must follow : The mean spirited to avoid Punishments, would turn Hypocrites ; Christians would cease to be Christians : They may, indeed, like the Papists, call themselves Christians ; but they must lose the essential Parts that make them so, *viz.* Tendernefs, Love, and Compassion one towards another ; and they must become Murderers, Persecutors, and Manslayers. The only Argument to decide the Right, would be to know who had most Power : For he that had Power to oppress, must be in the right, and the oppressed could not help being in the wrong.

wrong. But these were not the Marks of being in the right or the wrong, amongst the Primitive Christians.

Thou opinionative Man! What makes thee so confident that thou art in the right, and hast this great Assurance to compel others to believe as thy self dost? It proceeds from Reasons that have convinced thee of the Truth; and why shouldst thou deprive another of that Liberty?

I cannot upon this Occasion forbear commending the prudent Conduct, and good Nature of the Papists. Since they will not give Men Leave to judge for themselves, it is really good Nature, and prudent Conduct to restrain them from reading the Bible; for if they do read, they must not judge for themselves, what the Intent and Meaning of what they read is. Certainly, in this Point they are to be commended; they are more in the right than the Protestants are, or can pretend to be. For those deny their People the Use of the Bible; and they have no other Knowledge but what is learned from, or has been infilled into them by the Priest. In this Case if they deviate from what they are taught, and know nothing else to direct them, there is a good Shew of Reason, a good Colour to punish them as refractory and untractable. But for us Protestants, to direct our People from their Infancy to read their Bible, and to tell them, that there they may find the Way to eternal Life and Happiness: And after all that, if upon their best Inquiry, they shall find any Text there, any Thing that shall make other Impressions in them, than what you would have them believe; I may venture to affirm it, That in such Case, if you punish, discountenance, or use them hardly, you are guilty of

of as great Absurdities as any you charge the Papists with. Either deny them the Use of the Bible, or give them Leave to judge for themselves; or declare to them that they may read only for an Amusement, that they must not regard what they read, for the Magistrate is infallible; and only laugh at the Infallibility of the Pope on no other Reason, than because he assumes that to himself alone, which every Protestant Ruler pretends to as well as himself.

There is some Colour, some Pretence for one that takes himself to be infallible, to give Laws, and govern the Consciences of others; and there is good Reason for Men to be govern'd by those they believe to be infallible. But it is very absurd for a Man that pretends to no such Thing, but owns himself to be a weak and fallible Mortal, to pretend to domineer over other Men's Consciences, whom he must own to be as wise, and as infallible as himself.

There is no great Reason to believe, That Men will be guided by their Fancies, more than their Judgment, in their Interpretation; for all is at Stake, often their Peace in this World, certainly their Salvation in the next. Which is Argument sufficient to convince any Man, that their Faith, and Opinions are grounded upon the best Considerations and Thoughts they have, or can be Masters of: And if they are really persuaded and convinced of the Truth of what they profess, they ought to adhere to, and abide by what they do so believe. And would it become a just and wise Magistrate (if he had not the golden Rule to act by) to punish a Man for no other Reason, than because he was honest, and sincerely religious?

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The Bible, and the free Use thereof, is the Comfort of a true Christian, the Glory and the Pleasure of a Protestant : And if we must believe as our Church or Rulers would have us, or be burned for Hereticks, or be imprisoned as Enemies, or made incapable of Places, or any Trust in the Government, to which otherwise we have as good and just Pretensions, as any other natural born Subjects ; then is our Glory turned into Shame, and our Comfort into Sorrow and Distress.

Deprive us therefore of the great Blessing of Reading and Meditating upon the Laws of our God ; or take away from us the Dangers that attend us, the Penalties that we, our Friends, and Families are liable to, the incapacitating Laws that render us unserviceable, and useless to our Country : Out of a Christian Charity do the one, or out of an Antichristian Policy do the other.

Will it benefit a Soul ? Will it convince a Man's Understanding, to be forced by Fear, or persuaded by Advantage, to own a Principle he cannot inwardly approve of, but complies with only out of Hopes or Fears ? And if it will be no Advantage to you to make Men Dissemblers, it will be certainly no Honour or Pleasure to the Almighty, to be prayed to and adored by feigned Lips, when the Heart is far from him : Nor can it be any true Satisfaction to you, to act your self contrary to God's revealed Will.

If then, I have fairly stated the Case, it must appear, that every one ought to read the Bible, that can read ; and that he ought to search and find out the best Way he can learn of serving God,
in

in a Manner worthy of him : And if there is nothing in his Tenets or Principles prejudicial to the Publick, nothing dangerous or sinful, he ought to be permitted to serve God in his own Way.

But you will Answer, for all you have said, I am not satisfied, that a Man may blaspheme and deny God, and may publish Books to such Purposes; as *Asgyl*, *Toland*, and the Author of the *Rights of the Christian Church* have done; and that they should go unpunished.

If they have wrote falsely, artificially, or foolishly, expose them, detect them, and answer them : But as for burning their Books, if I should talk politically on this Occasion, I must say, you would do them too much Honour; and rather give them a Reputation, than a Disparagement to their Labours. Things that are contemned are soon forgot; but what has the Government's Mark of Infamy set upon it, tho' in it self inconsiderable, do's thereby become valuable and esteemed. Would you have the Authors punished ? That would look as if you were angry, because you could not answer what they had wrote. As for my Part, I wish that all those Authors, that disturb the Peace of the Christian World by their new Notions, Quirks and Subtilties, would learn the Ways of Peace and true Religion, and that they would leave off being Tools to Faction, and Friends to Parties; and that the chief Aim of Men were to teach others to live better, and to love one another; which Blessings are seldom obtained by Controversy.

I would therefore propose, in order to prevent those ill Consequences and unchristian Practices,
that

that all Men that are called Christians should repeal all Penalties, disqualifying and sanguinary Laws, unbecoming Arguments to be used by rational Creatures, to others that are their Equals in every Degree; as Mr. Chillingworth saith, Page 126.

Take away this Persecuting, Burning, Cursing and Damning of Men, for not subscribing to the Words of Men, as to the Words of God; require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no Man Master, but him only; let those leave off claiming Infallibility, that have no Title to it; and let them, that in their Words disclaim it, disclaim it also in their Actions: In a Word, Take away Tyranny, which is the Devil's Instrument to support Error and Superstition, and other Impieties, in the several Parts of the World, which could not otherwise withstand the Power of Truth. I say, take away Tyranny, and restore to Christians their full and just Liberty of captivating their Understandings to Scripture only; and as Rivers, when they have a free Passage, run all to the Ocean; so it may be well hoped, that universal Liberty thus moderated, may quickly reduce Christendom to Peace and Amity. I must say this for the Church of England, that tho' she has burned some good Men in their outward Behaviour for *Heretics*, and has been seduced by her Princes to be a Tool to *Ropery*, and by that means to abuse her Brethren *Protestants*; yet the soundest Part of her are the freest from Persecution; and therefore contribute their uttermost, to make her the purest, and most Christian Church in the World.

But further, as to the Men you would have branded, and as to the Books you would have burnt;

burnt; I know not what you mean. If our Religion is of God, it will stand in Defiance of all the Arts and Contrivances of the Devil and wicked Men, his Agents. What, are you so little acquainted with your Religion as to doubt, whether it came from God? Are you afraid to have the Articles of your Faith inquired into, and the Principles of your Religion examined? Be satisfied, the Christian Religion will endure any Trial, the Gates of Hell cannot prevail against it: Your unwarranted and indirect Practices to support it, do it more Prejudice and Damage, than all the Assaults and Attacks of its worst Enemies; fear nothing, our Enemies cannot hurt us: We will follow Christ, and not be furious against those that will not follow us. Our Enemies will do us Service, if we make the right Use of them: They will put us in a State of Holy Warfare: They will arm us with Weapons becoming Christians; they will force us to watch, to live hoſtly, to put off our Security, to exercise Charity and Patience, and to have our Trust, and ſure Refuge in him only, that is Almighty.

Let who will read the Scriptures; the excellent Doctrines of the Christian Religion will demonstrate the Inſtitutor of it to be God: Truth is the more conſpicuous, the more it is inquired into and examined: Cheats and Impoſtures only fear and avoid a Scrutiny. As for my Part, I declare the Scripture to be the only Rule of my Faith and Religion: And that Part of my Religion, that is not to be ſupported by Scripture, by the Word of God delivered to us by Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, I will willingly part with as ſpurious, and introduced by Prielt-craft, Tradition and Ignorance:

As for the Church of *England*, it was established by the Consent and Approbation of the Majority of the Christians of this Kingdom upon the Reformation, but nothing is perfect at the beginning. Men could not at once see every Thing: It is a Government, and Form of Worship established by Act of Parliament; yet there is no doubt of it, but it wants a further Reformation: But as it is, certainly there is no distinct and separate Congregation, that can compare with the Divines of the Church of *England* for their Learning, or with the Church for its Forms and Worship. The Dissenter upbraids the Churchman for preaching for Hire. The Churchmen upbraid them for preaching without an Apostolical Mission, to support Party and Faction. I shall say with the Apostle on this occasion, so Christ is preached and Men are edified, I shall be satisfied. I could wish that Men would at last grow wise, and leave off their idle Controversies and foolish Disputes, and become Christians indeed, loving one another, as Christians ought.

All our Heats and Disputes proceed from Arrogance, Pride and Emulation, the Parents of Hatred and Contention. In Persecuting Men lose one great Advantage, the strength of their Arguments; for Men can never be well taught, persuaded or convinced by Arguments offered by their Enemies and Persecutors: It is natural for Men to hate and avoid those that abuse and injure them, especially for their Religion, which is generally most dear to them. Men may certainly be easier prevailed upon by the persuasive Arguments of a Friend, that they believe loves and regards them.

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To illustrate the Original of our Divisions; you may observe, if there is a *Jew* or a *Turk* amongst us, we never try by Restraints and Penalties, by Fire or Terrors to make them become Christians: But if a Christian swerves but ever so little from us in the minutest Matters, he is sure to find no Quarter. Certainly this Practice is not warranted by Scripture: I never read there, that we were ordered to convert any sort of Men by those Methods, or that a *Turk* or a *Jew* should find more Favour with us than a mistaken Christian: But the Reason with little Thought is obvious; we never fear their teaching in Christ's Name, nor did we ever expect that they should follow us: But we find, that the mistaken Christian teaches and preaches in the Name we do, or follows those that do not follow us: And we fear in time, that they may lessen our Authority, and contend for Superiority.

You that forget God, and aim at the Riches and Grandeur of this World, consider the 36th verse of the 8th Chapter of St. Mark, *What shall it profit a Man, if he get the whole World, and lose his own Soul?* This Desire of Rule and Dominion is bred and born with Men, and continues with them until they are become new Creatures, and regenerated by Grace: You may observe in the Ninth Chapter of St. Mark, how the Disciples contended about Precedency, viz. who should be the greatest; and all our Disputes (let our Pretences be ever so fair and specious) have a look and a tendency that Way. You may find in the next Chapter, St. John, being jealous of others assuming to themselves an equal Authority with the Disciples, complains to our Saviour in these Words, *We saw*

one casting out Devils in thy Name, and he followeth not us, and we forbid him, because he followeth not us. Our Saviour said, Forbid him not, for there is none that shall do a Miracle in my Name that can lightly speak evil of me; for he that is not against us, is on our Part.

I can never reflect or think of this Place of Scripture, but it brings to my Thoughts the Meaning and Cause of all our Disputes, Differences and Quarrels. Miracles are ceased; and Men are so far from casting Devils out of others, that they can hardly keep them out of themselves. And as Miracles are ceased, so there is no more that Men can do to demonstrate that they are Christ's Disciples, than by preaching Christ, and by persuading Men to repent and lead new Lives. And yet for all this, I dare say, and affirm it, that if Men that followed not us should teach and preach the Doctrines of Christ, many of us, like the Disciples before they were inspired, would forbid them: And if we consulted truly our own Hearts, we should find the Reason to be, because they followed not us. How much have we deviated from our Saviour's Rule, and placed our Religion mostly in Distinctions, in Names and Sects? In the sixth Chapter of St. Luke, verse 27. *But I say unto you which hear, Love your Enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.* It is true, we read the same Testament in our Churches and Houses, and we have the same Instructions our Saviour gave his Disciples: But I leave it to every Man's Conscience to consider and examine, how well we practise it. Tho' our Brother Christian treats us with all the Modesty and Respect imaginable: And though by his Riches, Numbers and Friends, he hath in the

the Day of our Distress assisted us; yet I refer it to every one's Observation, if he will not follow us, whether we do not use him something worse, than our Saviour has permitted us to use our worst Enemies? Observe the 46th verse of the same Chapter, *Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the Things which I say? Ye know not what Spirit ye are of.*

I shall conclude this Discourse with Directions, how to try and guide your Spirits; and that shall be from the Rule given us, *St. Mark xii. 30, 31. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind, and with all thy Strength, this is the first Commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. There is no other Commandment greater than these.*

O God of all Mercy and Love, Grant that we may love Thee above all Things; grant that we may love one another, and live in Love and Peace free from persecuting, or from being persecuted: Grant that we may live in thy Peace and Fear, and die in thy Favour, and live with Thee, when Time shall be no more!

F I N I S.

the Day of our Differs affixed us; yet I refer it
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